

## Message Text

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S E C R E T SEOUL 6748

NODIS CHEROKEE

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TAGS: PFOR, MARR, KS, KN, US

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH PRESIDENT PARK

REF: (A) STATE 213541, (B) SEOUL 6741

SUMMARY: MEETING WITH PRESIDENT PARK TOOK PLACE MIDDAY AUGUST 28 AND I SET FORTH USG DISSATISFACTION WITH HIS POSITION AS INSTRUCTED REF A. PRESIDENT PARK, AFTER MILDER REJOINER THAN YESTERDAY, PREPARED IN ADVANCE, ACCEPTED USG POSITION AND SAID HE WOULD NOT INSIST UPON FURTHER STRONGER MILITARY OR OTHER ACTIONS. HE PROPOSED WARNING TO NORTH KOREA, FOLLOWING CONCLUSION OF INCIDENT, THAT IT WOULD PAY DEARLY FOR FURTHER PROVOCATIONS IN THE FUTURE--EITHER THROUGH JOINT USG/ROK STATEMENT OR STATEMENT BY UN COMMANDER. END SUMMARY

1. AS INSTRUCTED I MET AT MIDDAY WITH PRESIDENT PARK AT HIS EARLIEST CONVENIENCE. AS USUAL, PRESIDENTIAL SECRETARY GENERAL KIM CHUNG YUM AND INTERPRETER CHOI KWANG SOO WERE PRESENT.

2. I OPENED MEETING SETTING FORTH USG POSITION VIRTUALLY EXACTLY AS CONTAINED IN REF A. IN FACT, TO EMPHASIZE THAT I WAS ACTING UNDER INSTRUCTIONS FROM MY GOVERNMENT, I READ DIRECTLY FROM TELEGRAM, MAKING ONLY NECESSARY EDITORIAL CHANGES. I STRESSED THAT I WAS ACTING UNDER INSTRUCTIONS FROM SECRETARY AND THIS WAS THE

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CONSIDERED REPLY OF USG TO HIS DEMARCHE TO

ME OF AUGUST 27. ONLY POINTS ADDED WERE TO EMPHASIZE, BEFORE SETTING FORTH PARA 6, THAT WE HAD CONSULTED CLOSELY WITH HIM AND HAD BEEN GUIDED BY HIS ADVICE ON CRUCIAL DECISIONS, AND TO MAKE APPROPRIATE REFERENCE TO NORTH KOREAN ACCEPTANCE OF MAC MEETING TODAY, CONTRARY TO HIS EXPECTATION. I MINCED NO WORDS IN REITERATING OUR DISMAY AND LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OVER PARK'S EXPRESSIONS OF DISSATISFACTION.

3. PARK'S MOOD AS MAY RESPONSE WAS INTERPRETED FOR HIM WAS SOMBER AND SUBDUED. HIS INITIAL COMMENT WAS THAT HE HAD SLIGHT DIFFERENCE WITH OUR RECORDING OF VIEWS HE EXPRESSED DURING PREVIOUS MEETINGS WITH GENERAL STILWELL AND STILWELL AND STERN. HE SAID THAT WHILE HE PRAISED TREE-CUTTING OPERATION, HE DID NOT MEAN THAT THIS WAS ONLY ACTION HE RECOMMENDED IF APOLOGIES AND ASSURANCES IN FUTURE WERE NOT PROVIDED. IN SUCH CASE, HE HOPED FOR FURTHER MILITARY ACTIONS. (COMMENT: OUR RECORDS AND RECOLLECTIONS DO NOT REPEAT DO NOT CONFIRM THIS REPORT).

4. PARK THEN READ FROM PREPARED NOTES WHICH MOST UNCHARACTERISTIC FOR HIM. HE REITERATED HIS POSITION OF AUGUST 27 BUT IN MUCH MORE MODERATE TERMS. HE STATED THAT KOREAN PEOPLE DESIRED AND EXPECTED U.S. NOT TO FAIL TO GET APOLOGIES AND ASSURANCES IN FUTURE, AND IF THESE WERE NOT OBTAINED TO TAKE STRONGER AND MORE RESOLUTE MEASURES. (HE MADE NOT REFERENCE AT THIS POINT OR ELSEWHERE IN CONVERSATION TO PUNISHMENT OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR MURDERS.) HE WENT ON THAT KOREAN PEOPLE SO FAR DISAPPOINTED WITH U.S. RESPONSE. HE EXPLAINED THAT WHILE KOREAN PUBLIC DOES NOT WANT WAR OR WISH TO BE BELLIGERANT, THEY HAVE SUFFERED OVER THE YEARS CONTINUING PROVOCATIONS BY NORTH KOREA, OF WHICH THIS IS ONLY ONE MORE INCIDENT ALTHOUGH MORE SERIOUS. THEY FEEL THEY CANNOT BE BADGERED ALL THE TIME AND THEREFORE DECIDED, IN CASE OF AUGUST 18 INCIDENT, REACTION MUST GO BEYOND "MERE PROTEST". PARK THEN TURNED TO NORTH KOREAN "APOLOGY" AND CHARACTERIZED NORTH KOREAN "REGRET" AS NOT BEING CONSIDERED BY ROK

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AS APOLOGY, PARTICULARLY GIVEN CONTRASTING POSITION TAKEN IN NORTH KOREAN PROPAGANDA BROADCASTS. IF NORTH KOREA REALLY WANTED TO MAKE AN APOLOGY, THEN IT WOULD NOT ACCUSE U.S. "IMPERIALISTS" OF PROVOKING INCIDENT AND WOULD HAVE SAID IN ITS PROPAGANDA THAT INCIDENT WAS CAUSED UNINTENTIONALLY OR BY ACCIDENT.

5. PARK THEN SAID HE WISHED TO MAKE IT VERY CLEAR THAT

HE DOES NOT WANT RESUMPTION OF HOSTILITIES AND WAR MUST BE AVOIDED AT ALL COSTS. FOR THIS REASON HE HAD TOLERATED THE ASSASSINATION OF HIS WIFE WITHOUT MILITARY RETALIATION. HOWEVER, IF OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO PREVENT RECURRENCE OF WAR, THE BEST WAY IS TO NO LONGER TOLERATE PROVOCATIONS BY THE ENEMY, BUT TO SHOW RESOLUTENESS AND RESPOND FIRMLY TO PROVOCATION.

6. PARK THEN CONCLUDED THAT, NEVERTHELESS, HE IS AWARE USG HAS TO FORM ITS POSITION WITH VARIOUS CONSIDERATIONS IN MIND, INCLUDING CURRENT ELECTIONS; THEREFORE, HE WILL NOT INSIST ON FURTHER STRONGER MILITARY OR OTHER ACTIONS. FURTHERMORE, HE IS AWARE THAT IF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN U.S. AND ROK COME TO LIGHT, IT WILL ONLY EMBOLDEN AND ENCOURAGE NORTH KOREA. PARK REMAINED PESSIMISTIC ON OBTAINING NECESSARY ASSURANCES ABOUT RECURRENCES OF PROVOCATIONS IN THE FUTURE AND SAID THAT HE "DEEMS IT NECESSARY TO WARN NORTH KOREA IT WILL PAY DEARLY FOR FURTHER PROVOCATIONS IN THE FUTURE. HE SUGGESTED EITHER JOINT USG/ROKG STATEMENT OR STATEMENT BY UN COMMANDER.

7. PARK THEN ADDED THAT, AS POSSIBLE ANALOGY, SIMILAR-TYPE LEGAL DISPUTE BETWEEN PRIVATE PERSONS OVER TREE IN COURTYARD, STATING THAT IF NEIGHBOR HIT AND KILLED SOMEONE, THEN CUTTING DOWN TREE WOULD NOT BE SUFFICIENT AND FULL APOLOGY NECESSARY. I COMMENTED QUICKLY THAT IN SUCH ANALOGOUS SITUATION INVOLVING PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS LEGAL ACTION BY POLICE AND COURTS WOULD BE FIRST RESORT.

8. IN RESPONDING TO PARK, I ALSO EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR HIS DECISION NOT TO INSIST UPON FURTHER ACTIONS. I POINTED OUT THAT IN FACT WE HAVE RESPONDED FIRMLY TO  
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PROVOCATION, AS HE HAD RECOMMENDED, IN THIS INCIDENT AND NORTH KOREANS HAD IN THIS CASE BACKED DOWN. WITH RESPECT TO KOREAN PEOPLE, I URGED THAT ROKG MAKE EFFORT TO GET THEM TO UNDERSTAND MUCH MORE FULLY WHAT WE HAVE DONE AND TO APPRECIATE FIRMNESS OF U.S. ACTIONS AND NORTH KOREAN BACKDOWN. I POINTED OUT THAT, DESPITE NORTH KOREAN PROPAGANDA CLAIMS OF U.S. PROVOCATION, WORLDWIDE VIEW, INCLUDING THAT OF MANY COMMUNISTS, IS THAT NORTH KOREA IS GUILTY OF INSTIGATING INCIDENT AND HAS IN FACT APOLOGIZED, WITH ITS ACTIONS SPEAKING LOUDER THAN ITS PROPAGANDA.

9. I ALSO EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING OF FRUSTRATION SOUTH KOREANS FEEL WITH RESPECT TO NORTH KOREAN PROVOCATIONS, BUT I POINTED OUT THAT, DESPITE THESE

PROVOCATIONS, SOUTH GETS STEADILY STRONGER VIS-A-VIS THE NORTH. DILEMMA REMAINS HOW TO REACT WITHOUT PROVOKING FULL-SCALE WAR, WHICH PARK WISHES TO AVOID.

10. FINALLY, I SAID THAT I WOULD TRANSMIT PARK'S SUGGESTION OF WARNING TO THE NORTH, COMMENTING PROBLEM STILL REMAIN OF HOW TO REACT TO PROVOCATIONS WITHOUT CREATING WAR AND THAT IT IS NECESSARY FOR BOTH GOVERNMENTS TOGETHER TO CONSIDER AND CONSULT ON EACH INCIDENT BEFORE REACTING. IN CASE OF AUGUST 18 INCIDENT, WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT BY FIRM AND RESOLUTE REACTION WE CAN FORCE NORTH KOREANS TO BACK DOWN. UNLIKE YESTERDAY, PARK MADE NO FURTHER EFFORT TO RE-ITERATE HIS POSITION OR REJOINDER MY COMMENTS.

11. COMMENT: MY IMPRESSION IS THAT PARK FULLY EXPECTED OUR REACTION, JUDGING BY HIS READING FROM PREVIOUSLY PREPARED NOTES AND THAT HE HAD CONCLUDED OVERNIGHT THAT HE HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO ACCEPT USG POSITION. HAVING MADE HIS PITCH YESTERDAY, HE WAS RESIGNED AND FAR MORE RESTRAINED AT TODAY'S SESSION IN REACTING TO OUR VIEWS, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO FURTHER ACTIONS AGAINST NORTH KOREA. HE NOW APPEARS TO EXPECT EARLY RESOLUTION OF INCIDENT ON TERMS HE UNDOUBTEDLY WILL NOT VIEW AS ACCEPTABLE, ALTHOUGH I AM RELATIVELY CONVINCED HE WILL NOT AIR PUBLICLY HIS DIFFERENCES WITH US. I ANTICIPATE  
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HE WILL SHIF T HIS FOCUS AND PRESSURE NOW ON SUGGESTED CLEAR-CUT WARNING TO NORTH KOREA REGARDING ANY FUTURE PROVOCATIONS.  
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